582 /24 cont./ likewise contracted without any definite preference for one of these marriages being apparent.

582 602 Knowledge of kinship relationships does not go beyond the eighth- and ninth-degree kinsmen. Relatives further removed are "distant" (bella). If in rare cases people speak of a marriage between sampopingappa (tenth-degree male and female cousins; children of sampopintallung), one will probably hear the opinion expressed that this is an undesirable marriage. Others, however, do not seem to be aware of this.

Among the marriages contracted between sampopintallung (eighth-degree kinsmen), there probably also exist marriages of sampopingappa (tenth degree) or of kamanakang sampopintallung (ninth degree, thus, not members of the same generation). In such cases people are not certain any more about the exact relationships. Statements contradict each other, and in such cases of uncertainty there is a tendency to settle on that kin relationship which one regards as the proper and normal one for a marriage between kinsmen as the correct one.

The most common marriage is, therefore, the marriage between sampopinruang and sampopintallung (respectively, sixth- and eighth-degree male and female cousins) who at the same time are members of the same generation. Of all other marriages it is said that they are unfavorable or unlucky, or [565] else that they are forbidden. In the nobiliary related group there is a tendency to shift to samposikali and sampopinruang (the fourth- and sixth-degree male and female cousins respectively).

593 The Family

Two functions of the family /gezin/ will be discussed here.

The father officially occupies a predominant place in the family. The relationship to his sons is based upon the notion that he is in command and that it is impolite to contradict him (1). /25/ A son is supposed to know what is fitting, by

• 593 /25 cont./ 1. Talking back is referred to as nipolongi erona, "his wishes are crossed," or anempa bawa karaeng, "to slap the mouth of the master."

listening to what his father says and by answering in general, well-chosen phrases when the father is addressed. In practice the answers which a son gives are brief because he is afraid of not being able to satisfy such obligations, and of making a mistake, which might be regarded as impolite or result in ridicule. A son above the age of fourteen accordingly does not like to be in the company of his father; the relationship is too stiff for this. When his father comes in, he disappears as quickly as possible while mumbling some excuse. When a [574] father visits his married son, the latter will call his wife or his little son. The conversation then continues through them. Important matters, such as the marriage of his daughter, may be discussed by a father with his (married) son. This, too, is a conversation held in a formal tone. But this conversation merely establishes what has already been previously discussed by the father in informal conversations with his wife or his daughter-in-law.

The same relationship can be observed between brothers. Here the older one must be obeyed by the younger. Between them the opposition is greater; the older one tries to keep the leadership; the younger, especially if his personal qualities give him the opportunity to do so, tries to avoid his brother's authority. Their relationship is also stiff. The consequence is that unmarried sons in general, and unmarried younger brothers in particular, spend a great deal of time outside the house.

This does not apply to the relationship between mother and daughter, or to that between sisters. Since younger women are [562] dependent on house and grounds and away from these can only go about in company, a similar solution would not be realistic in practice.

593 /25 cont./ in practice. Younger women are dependent upon the older ones. The element of opposition is not to be found among them; on the contrary, what is prized is their mutual helpfulness and cooperation.

593 835 A sexual relationship between a woman and her son practically does not occur. No examples of this were found in the registers of the native courts. Only one of the informants could recall such a case, which was supposed to have taken place before 1905. Stories in which this relationship plays a part are unknown to me.

538 /26/ A sexual relationship between a man and his daughter occurs with more or less regularity. In the registers of the native courts of all South Celebes, one encounters an estimated four or more such cases annually. This implies that such an occurrence is a rarity in a particular adat community which is still remembered after decades. Stories concerning a father-daughter relationship are found in the Islamic sphere. They generally run about as follows. A well-known religious scholar who has come from Sumatra marries a Makassarese woman. While their child, a girl, is still very small, he moves on, and only 20 years later does he return to Macassar. There he marries a young woman, and after a time he notices by a certain sign on her head or by a certain ornament which he gave to his wife 20 years before that it is his own daughter whom he has married. Together they search for someone who will tell them what they should now do. It is God who tells them that they have committed the greatest sin possible, but that this can be forgiven them because they knew not what they did.

593 In the forms of social intercourse and conduct in daily life, a fear of violating the existing prohibition is here reflected that is not observable in the mother-son relationship. If a man comes home and his grown-up daughter is alone in the house, her little brother or niece is called in as a matter of course. Then both feel more at ease. The risk remains that otherwise people would talk about them. Accordingly, a man prefers not

Accordingly, a man prefers not

593 /26 cont./ to go alone with his grown-up daughter to a kampong
574 where they are unknown, for instance, so that there they will not be regarded as a married couple and addressed as such.

593 The reason for this latter form of incest (salimara') occurring with
835 more or less regularity and that of mother and son so rarely was explained by an informant who said that in general the lower generation must obey the higher one, a son his mother and a daughter her father. So it seems generally assumed that
[833] initiative to a sexual relationship (in this case evil) originates with the man.

A sexual relationship between a man and his sister practically does not occur. I do not recall having encountered a single instance of this in the registers of the native courts. /27/

538 The brother-sister relationship is one of the leitmotivs in the La Galigo epic. The relationship of Sawerigading to his twin sister Tenriabeng is one of great intimacy (1). In the

[113]

1. R. A. Kern, Catalogus van de Boegineesche tot den I Galigo cyclus behoorende handschriften der Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek, alsmede van die in andere Europeesche biblioteken /Catalog of the Buginese Manuscrips belonging to the I Galigo Cycle in the University of Leiden Library, as well as of Those in Other European Libraries, Leiden, 1939/, Leiden, 1939.

heroic poem Datu Museng, the hero's wife I Maipa is likewise described as his twin sister. They were separated shortly after birth and did not meet again, ignorant of each other's past, until they were grown up. Datu Museng became enamored of her, and they married. So the poem is recited (2) by several

2. In the Makassaarsche Chrestomathie one finds another version. There it is

538 /27 cont./ related that I Maipa was the daughter of the Sultan of Sumbawa. As such, however, she was of nobler blood than Datu Museng, and their marriage was thus likewise a forbidden tie. Matthes, [113] Makassaarsche Chrestomathie /Makassarese Chrestomathy/, 1883: "Aanteekeningen," p. 88.

singers (pakeso'keso') (3).

[533 534] 3. A singer who accompanies himself on a two-stringed violin (keso'keso').

●593 In daily life the brother is, in the very first instance, the protector of his sister as a young girl. He is for her the "strong wall," as the verse says (4). He likes to accompany

4. See Chapter III, p. 297.

her and the older women when they pay visits to kinsmen living elsewhere. He is the one who reacts first in case she is siri'; this is as much as to say that he immediately starts the pursuit and stabs if she should want to flee. He carries her [585] as a bride out of the back rooms where she was dressed to the bridal bed in the front room. He is proud of her and of the fact that he may protect her.

601 The /nuclear/ family is clearly reflected in the kinship terminology (see list). It is apparent that only the members of the /nuclear/ family are indicated by individual terms and that for the rest the terminology makes distinctions only between generations. The distinctions made in ego's own generation,

591 /33 cont./ A matrilocal marriage is not a mandatory prescription. The houses of the parental couples are close to each other; kinship to father and mother are equally valued. On the basis of these facts, the observed tendency to matrilocal marriage remains unexplained. In my opinion, [182 the reason is to be found in the relationships obtaining among •593] the members of the family, and especially in the formal, stiff relationship between father and son, which makes it difficult for the latter to conduct himself in an unforced manner in the company of the former (1).

1. See pp. 31, 32.

The beginning of a marriage is frequently difficult (2).

2. See Chapter III, second part.

The parents who /34/ have brought it about and feel responsible for the smooth course of events do everything in their power to make it seem attractive for the young man to move in with his wife. That is not the case if he lives in his father's house. To this is added the fact that the young wife feels most comfortable in her familiar environment, with her mother and little sisters. If she should live elsewhere, it is much more difficult for her to go back to her mother, however small the distance between the houses may be.

182 The strict separation between the sexes, which results
562 in the young women being strongly tied to house and grounds,
591 thus furthers the occurrence of matrilocal marriages as does
593 the stiff relationship between father and son.

635 Sexual Relationships between Members of a Household

Sexual relationships between members of a household who do not belong to the same /nuclear/ family occur more

835 /35 cont./ occur at the courts of princes without being further discussed in public, even though they led to pregnancy.

684 In the same manner the court of justice handled a case
835 of a man's relations with his stepdaughter, and that of a man
593 with his stepgranddaughter. The court of justice declared
608 that although no blood relationship existed between the accused, these two young women were nevertheless regarded as daughter and granddaughter respectively, because they had lived with their stepfather and stepgrandfather from childhood on and had been reared by them. Here there exists a certain doubt, therefore, whether the case can be regarded as salimara'.[1]

608 Cases of sexual relation between a woman and her stepson
835 were not registered. This does not mean that these do not occur. At the most it may mean that these cases occur less frequently than those in which the man belongs to the higher generation (1).

587 1. The idea exists that when a
593 widower remarries, his second wife treats her stepchildren with less kindness than her own. No heart-rending examples of this could be noted, however. In
[754] one case the hostile attitude originated with the two girls who suspected their stepmother of having killed their own mother by means of a formula (pangassengang), in order to be able to marry their father.

The relationship of a man
[578] with his stepson is a tense one. Quarrels occur that lead to physical violence and fights such as are unknown between a man and his own son.

1 [i.e. incest. - Aug/71]

571 /120 cont./ Opposition is inherent in the relations of men among each other. In the family the relation between father [593] and son -- and to a lesser extent that between brothers -- is strongly formalized. As a result, opposition within the family is greatly reduced in force.

Opposition is observable between relatives and especially between the prominent members of one group of relatives.

554 561 571 The relation between a high and a low and, likewise, between an old and a young man, is also formalized. To contradict a higher or an older man is prohibited. To speak in his presence soon becomes a sign of discourtesy. The manner in which these social relations are conducted makes a stiff impression.

571 Opposition is further observable between groups of relatives. Where there is an ornament, the worship communities are in opposition to each other. There is opposition between kampongs, between adat communities, and among the wealthy.

Within all these groupings, there are always latent oppositions present. They are merely not always noticeable.

571 643 [794] Worship communities consequently do not always conduct themselves as a unit (3). The opposition can frequently be

> 3. A realm, that is to say, a local administrative and political unit, and the worship community around the ornament belonging to the prince of that realm, coincide to a great extent.

traced back to the family of the prince, for instance, if the individual who has been appointed prince on the basis of his descent, does not, at the same time, possess the personal /121/ qualities necessary for the effective exercise of his office.

1:Chabot--188 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

Chapter III

Sex

593 In the chapter concerning kinship, the relationships of the members of the family among each other were treated separately. The relationship of brother to sister occupied a special place in this connection.

Their separation implies that their interests lie in different areas, that is to say, that both their activities as well as the places where they reside are different. These differences also form the pattern for the relationship between men and women in general.

562 The vertical tendency described in the previous chapter demands of the men that they be in a constant relation of opposition to other men. The violent actions and responses [831] that are expected of them go hand in hand with ideas about great sexual potency, which is ascribed to them. The high [157] demands made of men coincide with anxieties about not being able to fulfill these demands. A sense of inadequacy can be observed repeatedly.

157 In the first part of this chapter, modes of conduct, attitudes, and personality norms of the two sexes will be 562 described. After that, a number of inadequacy phenomena will be discussed. Prostitution as an expression of maladjustment on the part of women, and polygamy as an actualization of the vertical tendency by a man with exceptional personal qualities, will be briefly mentioned at the end.

581 In the previous chapter we referred to the central position which marriage occupies in Makassarese society. In the choice of marriage partners, the older people apply standards of selection based upon kinship, status, and personal qualities. They intend to bring about a normal sexual union between man and wife. The description of the marriage

857/140 cont./ be able to run away again more easily. Little
867 boys are allowed to be somewhat rowdy and boisterous during a festival, but girls are forbidden such behavior: "Are you
[262] a boy?" an older girl then snaps at her. Little girls may not eat a certain kind of fish so that later, when they are grown up, they will not become man-crazy. At various festivities
[777] they receive "pitjuru," luck-bringing /141/ charms so that when they are grown up they will marry and have many children. The sexes are sometimes separated as early as the
[871] age of seven to eight years when children go to the religious instructor (guru ngadji), where they learn to recite the Koran. Then the girls receive instruction from the guru's wife in the back of the house.

One of the first frustrations of children after weaning
593 is caused by adult men, especially the father. When a man
867 enters the house, women and children withdraw to the back part of the house. When there are guests, care is taken that the children make no noise. When an important man is in the house, this rule applies even more strictly. Little children who then make noise are threatened with: "He is angry at you." An old woman repeated to a three-year-old who quietly sat next to her, "He sees you, he is looking at you." The importance of the situation was imparted in this fashion; and a certain fear as well as a certain veneration for the superior found expression in this way.

867 The difference in /social/ level between children is
554 revealed partly by what is less tolerated in one than in another. When a karaëng comes for a visit to the house of the adat community head, his little son may run around and perhaps even sit down behind his father, but the children of kinsmen and servants remain in the back rooms, and the women take care that they are quiet.

864 A little girl learns from early childhood that it is not good to show herself naked: "Where is your sarong?" she is asked. This applies to boys only one to two years later.

595 /168 cont./ In view of the fact that according to Moslem law the conclusion of a second marriage is just as simple as the first, there must be other reasons why so few polygamous men were registered in this region. Such a reason is, in the first place, the opposition of the first wife.

[581] [558] One of the worst things that can happen to a woman is that her husband takes a second wife. One of the wishes for a newly married couple is the hope that they will grow old together. It was said of a childless old couple who had been together all their lives that this was proof that they were happy together, and it was regarded as a cause for rejoicing and an example for the younger generation. In the "little [585] games" /169/ that take place during the wedding festival, the woman must win. This reflects the wish that later she [593] will also have the upper hand in her relationship with her husband. And in answer to the question what this referred to mostly, it was stated that one thought of the provision of the necessities for daily meals and the taking of a second wife.

The reaction of the first wife is very violent. She declared that she would rather be cast out than suffer a co-wife (maru) by her side. She leaves the house without the knowledge of her husband -- which under normal circumstances would weigh heavily against her -- and returns to her parents, preferably with her children. In such a case there is no intention of leaving the man permanently. A statement by one of these women leaves no room for doubt about that. When she heard that her husband had contracted a second marriage, she did not leave for the distant kampong of her parents until she had made the vow: "If I come back here, I shall sacrifice a hen to you (ancestors)." In such a case it is possible for the woman to return only if her husband comes to implore her to do so. Her desire to come back prevailed. Sometimes, especially if the second marriage comes about [586] through silariang, her negative attitude is successful. In one case the man went to visit his second wife less and less. The

595 /170 cont./ which this rule was taken
578 could not be traced down,
just as it was not possible
to find the Makassarese
text.

595 The two wives each has her own house. In 24 of the 27 polygamous marriages, the two houses were even in different kampongs. If it is said of a man that he owns two houses, this means that he has two wives. The wives live each in her own house together with their children and a single kinsman, leading their own lives. They never see each other. They are thought to ignore each other. When they go to pay visits, kinsmen take care that the one does not come where the other is. At festivals the second wife always yields to the first, but in actuality she always gets just as much of a chance to be present, even though it is just for a short period of time. In practice, the two women know everything about each other that can be regarded of any interest at all.
[521] Female "friends" tell the news, especially the bad news, that each wife wants to hear about the other. In the course of many years the sharpest edges are often worn off this relationship. The children of the one go to the house of the other with their father. An instance where the two women at a greater age visited each other from time to time remains an exception, however.

It is expected that the husband takes his first wife's feelings into consideration and that he will do nothing that could remind her of her rival. An old example is that a man must
[593] put away the contents of his betel box before he comes to the
[576] other wife, because filling this box is, all the way up to the
276] highest social circles, a special task that a woman performs for her husband, so that a woman, upon seeing the fresh betel leaves, is immediately reminded of the other woman (2).

595 /170 cont./ 2. Little betel is chewed by the generation that is now thirty-five to forty years of age or younger.

[178 276]

Nor does he ever name the kampong where the other wife lives as his destination when he leaves. To speak the truth would be an unforgivable rudeness. But a man who, in the opinion of his first wife, already was too much away from home was told: "When a man goes out a great deal, a wife is lazy with the cooking."

/171/ Co-wives display a stronger than normal desire to attach their husbands to themselves, in comparison with monogamously married women. They make sure that the meal is ready when he comes home, that a clean sarong lies in readiness for him, and that his guests are especially well entertained, since a man finds it pleasant if he is known as a good host. On the other hand, they know how to make their anger apparent to him by the same means, by letting him wait for his food, by neglecting to care for his clothes, and so forth. Among older men it can be observed that they stay for a longer time with the same wife. In the majority of cases this appears to be the first wife.

[593] [574]

The second wife is always lower than the first; at least she is regarded as lower. This circumstance makes it easier for the first wife to be content with her existence. The great dread of a woman who was not related to her husband appeared to be the fact that now she would become the second wife because he married one of his nieces. As regards descent, however, she was regarded as his equal, and there was in every respect an acceptable reason why his niece should not be regarded as his equal.

595 606 607 The opposition of the first wife is not the only reason why a second marriage comes about only with difficulty. Another reason is based upon the opposition of the relatives.

582 /173 cont./ those whom they permit to marry. Naturally, they cannot draw a sharp line of distinction between those whom they do permit to marry, and those they do not;
[589] Several factors are influential in determining the number of individuals who, in a certain group, finally remain unmarried. In each group there are a number of individuals who declare that they do not wish to marry, and their motives in doing so are not always clear, nor do the older people always take this wish into consideration.

●593 On account of this, it is understandable that a marriage contract in itself does not yet signify that the newlyweds will now also be able to find their way toward a normal married life.

[833] In a number of cases one of the marriage partners "does not want" the other. It is said of them that they are "not good" together. This means that one of them refuses sexual union.

585 The central point of the wedding feast toward which all aspirations and the interests of all are directed is the successful union of man and wife. The purpose is that a marriage should
[581] be lasting and fruitful, that is to say, that it should last until the death of one of the partners, and that it should be blessed with many children and goods.

[586] In the discussion of a number of "divorces," it will become apparent that if the partners have had sexual intercourse
581 only once, the marriage may in effect be called lasting. For
833 a number of individuals, however, it seems difficult to enter into sexual contact with their partner. I would like to discover the cause of this difficulty in the personality structure.

[155] With respect to men, we could point to the anxiety of being inadequate toward their partner. The rivalry with those
[156] of his own sex, to which we have already pointed above, and the performance of great sexual feats are both expressions of personal qualities highly prized in a man and always occurring in combination.

585 /175 cont./ people attach great significance to the way in which these actions are performed by the young people, because they believe that they can discover from them the person's inclination toward the marriage partner, and upon this in turn they base the further (ritual) measures that must be taken, all of which are geared finally to the "good" union of man and wife.

In addition, little games take place during the festival, in the form of small contests between bride and bridegroom. At the same time, care is always taken that the woman wins. It is said that this is an expression of the wish that later in daily life the wife will be the boss in the house, because a couple is then regarded as happiest (1).

562
593

1. The relationship between man and wife in marriage is aptly characterized by saying that the wife stands on the index finger of the man (bainea ammentengi ri pandjodjona buranea), that is to say, that the wife must do what the man says. In actuality this idea is put into practice only with respect to certain points, for instance, where the siri' feelings play a part. A married man must therefore decide whether a sister or a sister-in-law living in the house with him may go to a festival, whether she may still go to school, and so forth. He may turn away a marriage request. In such matters he has his way. Thereby he feels responsible

562 /175 cont./
593

because, if something should happen, he is the one who would have to take action since he is the protector of the siri'. Therefore, his wife complies with his commands in these matters. But in other respects it is apparent that the woman is the boss in the house, and that the man is content with this situation. When discussions had to be conducted concerning the arrangement of a circumcision festival, the parents of the little boy to be circumcised were still too young to do this completely independently. The man's father indicated the large lines according to which the festival should be held. But he conducted these discussions not with his son but with his daughter-in-law. Only when the arrangement of the festival had been discussed in detail was this communicated to her husband, who now gave his official consent. Whenever man and wife are not agreed as to whether a large festival or a small festival should be held upon the occasion of some event or other, or if the man wants to buy a bicycle for his son while his wife wants to

562 /175 cont./ buy clothes, then the latter
593 acts according to her own wishes. At such times the man becomes angry, but he soon comes to accept the situation with the sigh that, after all, these are only unimportant matters. Questions involving siri' are, in his opinion, ultimately the important points, and accordingly he makes sure that these continue to be under his jurisdiction.

585 /176/ No two wedding festivals are alike. The respective
184 groups of relatives each have their peculiarities which find expression in details of the ritual. Within one and the same related group, each of the leading personalities leave their stamp both upon the organization of the entire festival, as well as upon the execution of the individual rituals. They show thereby that they can not only follow existing rituals, but also that they can add new rituals to these already existing.

Whoever has gone through several wedding festivals will have been struck by the great differences between them, as well as by the many traits they have in common. In the description that follows here of a number of subelements of the wedding ritual, I have followed, in the main, the notes that I took down at a single festival. In this case I am not striving for completeness. Otherwise the ritual would have had to be described much more fully. Behind each detail there again loom new ones.

585 788 [114] /178 cont./ van Wetenschappen, Afd/eeling/ Letterkunde, N/ieuwe/ R/eeks/ /New Series/, Vol. I, no. 8, pp. 52 ff.

precede the dressing of bride and groom when they are still in the houses of their respective parents, and it takes place when they are bathed together for the first time.

585 [543] The person who performs this ritual is frequently the "bride's mother," (anrong bunting) (2). The special appasili

[602 838] 2. The "bride's mother" may also be a man. In that case he helps the bridegroom. Kawe kawe likewise perform this job.

[342] at the construction of the chief pole of the pannjambungi is performed, however, by the person who is charged with its erection, a man who is an expert at housebuilding (panrita balla'). The appasili of the vessels is usually performed by one of the prominent older women.

585 824 [801] The bottle of leafy twigs consists preferably of seven different kinds. These are usually the same kinds, but sometimes variations are introduced. The names of the leaves of one particular bundle were: 1. buagang, 2. palidi, 3. parempasa', 4, loë, 5. leko sirih, 6. riu, 7. pattene. The first four names all indicate defense (1), the last two have

585 824 789 1. These names are rapidly recited, one after the other, when they are used as a spell. They are also reported thus by Matthes. Compare B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 223:

585 /195 cont./ is not the issue, but rather the tactfulness in
833 getting the wife to perform the sexual act. They had thus satisfied the wishes of those around them. Their masculine pride
[156] was flattered because they had shown that they were good conquerors of women. This characteristic is particularly prized in Makassarese. A woman always shows herself averse to a man, even to her husband. It is the latter's art to win her for himself through a pleasant outward appearance, a well-chosen word, a strategic touch, and very little physical force. That is how the ladies' man Sawerigading (1) does it.

1. See R. A. Kern, I La Galigo, p. 333.

The art of conquering women that Sawerigading possessed to the highest degree is at most held up as an ideal to the young Makassarese. Even before the wedding ceremony takes
581 place according to Moslem rite, one of the older women con-
● 593 ducts a number of conversations with the bridegroom. She talks,
521 and the young man listens. She tells him that it will be difficult for him to make his wife happy, but that his happiness in his future life will be dependent upon this. She also tells him that he must not be rough with her. She asks him whether he knows what he must say to his wife later on and whether he knows what to answer when she asks him something. She tells him what questions he can expect and what his answers should be to them. They do not like to talk about this. I could only obtain a single example of this. "Where do you place me?" (Keremaé nupatinro) was given as an example of such a question, and the answer was supposed to be: "I place you above me" (Irateangkuko) (2).

2. It is possible that the only informant who drew my attention to these questions

521 /195 cont./ and answers owed them to
581 tarekat influence, and that
593 therefore they are not in
general use. Elsewhere,
people denied knowledge of
their existence. Neverthe-
less, a report of these questions
and answers seems to be in
place here.

521 Such a conversation between older woman and bridegroom
585 bears an intimate character; it is regarded as of great im-
portance for the future /196/ life of the bridegroom. The older
one must have the confidence of the younger. The bride
learns the questions and answers from one of her kinsmen,
suitable for this instruction, and if the man and woman con-
cerned are not related to each other, the older people establish
contact concerning this matter in order to be sure that enough
of a connection exists between the questions and the answers.

This conversation conducted in whispers between older and younger persons is not so intimate that an older man might not interrupt it with the question, "Are you being examined?" And there is general laughter. All the older people know what
[831] the two are discussing there. The instruction given to the young man is not so serious that an obscene remark could not be interjected.

585 Frequently as soon as the evening following the nikka',
833 when the guests have already returned to their houses, the bridegroom is taken by the older aunt to the partitioned-off shed where his bride is. The old women are still awake at this time. Some of them urge him to enter. They call him "my cock." Others try to hold him back from it, but this is mere make-believe. In so doing they are holding on to the idea that they must protect the young girl, as is the case in

554 /198 cont./ in such a case also implies an insult to the
565 superior. To avoid the difficulties /199/ that would arise
584 through such a request, one lets the child marry especially young.

565 There are indications that relatively most child marriages
584 are contracted in the karaëng related group, that only a small number are contracted in that of the adat community heads, and extremely few among the ordinary kampong people. To have one's children marry at an early age is regarded as an expression of gentility.

114 In my opinion reliable figures can be obtained only
127 through verbal information gathered for each group of relatives.
582 The marriage registers are particularly useless for this purpose, first of all, because the age of bride and bridegroom are generally recorded there only "approximately"; and secondly, because all religious officials charged with filling out the marriage registers know that the administration does not like to see child marriages and therefore raise their estimate in this special case. For this reason, the age of a scarcely ten-year-old bride was registered as fourteen (1).

1. The father of this girl, a very special figure ahead of his time, had recorded the birth dates of his children in a notebook, and therefore a check was possible in this special case.

582 Just as in western Europe the word "slave" frequently
593 cannot be thought of without being connected with slave traders or slave transports, so the term "child marriage" is frequently linked with the conception of a sexually immature girl married to an adult man and forced by the latter to

582 /199 cont./ cohabitation, frequently with permanent physical
593 or psychic injuries for the rest of her remaining life. By child marriage, therefore, we understand here a marriage in which at least one of the two partners is not sexually mature. But then the conception of the matter given above is incorrect in two respects as regards South Celebes. In the first place, the bridegroom as well as the bride is not yet sexually mature in two of the four cases at my disposal. After the sealing of the marriage, the children did not live in the same house. They are supervised by the older people, and not until the girl has menstruated and the boy has begun to "crow" -- and this is sometimes the case only after several years, -- does ordinary cohabitation take place.

In the second place, even if the man is sexually mature and the girl is not, it is not necessary to be too fearful of the evil consequences of a child marriage. A man, after all,
[832] is /200/ taught that he must be tender and loving to his young wife, and that he must try to win her for himself gradually. Rough conduct in this respect on his part is disapproved even in an ordinary marriage.

582 It is clear that in child marriage in South Celebes the possibility of ill-treatment of the overly young girl is not excluded, nonetheless the possibilities for this are very limited. Child marriage has not been institutionalized here. It is contracted in cases where the older people have a stake in keeping the influence of the young individuals upon the choice of their marriage partners to a minimum.

However, in so doing, they still do not have the cer-
[833 tainty that this marriage will also become "good." A girl
593] who was not yet sexually mature at the contracting of her marriage to an adult man resisted him for a number of years after menstruation had already set in. This was accepted by the husband as well as by her kinsmen. This is a case of a married couple where one partner desires no sexual union, and thereby causes the marriage to fail. In a section concerning

582 /200 cont./ child marriage this means merely that a child marriage does not necessarily have any particularly bad consequences.

Refusal of Sexual Union in Marriage

586 We have only spoken above of a marriage where the prescribed Moslem rite has taken place. In the same way, we shall now mean by divorce the separation of the marriage partners according to the rules of Moslem dogma. However, only a certain aspect of the Makassarese ideas concerning these subjects is reproduced by this.

585 At the wedding feast, the elders concentrate their efforts upon the bringing about of sexual union between man and wife. Not until this has taken place, is it really believed to have been brought about.

593 After some time it appears that in a number of these marriages the partners nonetheless are not "good," that is to 833 say, that they do not have sexual intercourse. In the present-day stage of observation, however, this comes to light only if they do not live together for extended periods, and avoid each other. This state of affairs may last until the death of [586] one of them. Only in a few cases, generally if one of the two wants to remarry, does divorce according /201/ to Moslem law take place. This is not much more than a formality which legalizes an already existing situation. The "being good" of man and wife constitutes the center of Makassarese married life. The difficulties seem to lie there.

833 Only after the normal festivities have been concluded can it become apparent whether the goal has been reached or not. The pabadjikang ritual in itself provides no guarantee that sexual intercourse of man and wife has actually occurred. It is possible that the young man or woman goes through the entire wedding festival in the customary fashion, that is, more or less tacitly, but continues to refuse the sex act and

585 /202 cont./ thought to be acquainted with the formulas that are correct in the Moslem view. It is possible that this is a local development. Elsewhere in South Celebes I did not hear of such marrying again.
833

able to record three cases of this. All three took place from one to three years after the first wedding ceremony; and in all of them the couple shortly thereafter was "good" together.

833 It is believed that the individual himself is not responsible for his unwillingness. Therefore, nobody is angry at him.

[602] If the young man is unwilling, his wife's kinsmen are not angry at him. They receive him in a friendly manner when he comes to visit at their house. His wife remains shy and [593] withdrawn toward him, just as every young woman is toward her husband. She is not angry either, nor does she feel insulted by his refusal.

593 The man, too, is not angry. He sometimes brings some-
626 thing for his wife which she can use in the household, as is
833 customary between man and wife and as he would do if they were "good" together. Frequently, he spends the night at a married brother's or sister's house, by preference not in that of his parents, because the latter very clearly show him that he should not sleep in their house but with his wife. A certain amount of pressure is therefore exerted upon him. "People who act like that have a short life," it is said.

In case the wife refuses, there is a similar situation./203/. She is similarly told that women in such circumstances do not live long. "If a woman continues to refuse her husband, her [761] bier will creak" (1). Her husband is not angry at her, nor

593 626 833 [761] /203 cont./ 1. That is to say, then she will soon die.' For when a corpse is placed upon the bier made of bamboo, the bier creaks.

does he feel shame because she refuses him. Her kinsmen feel a little embarassed (siri' siri') because they brought about the marriage and therefore also bear responsibility for her refusal, so they are extremely friendly toward the young man.

586 [833] The belief that the performance of ritual can cause a man or wife to give up his (her) refusal to have sexual intercourse entails that one waits for a long time before officially dissolving the contracted marriage. This is usually done with the mutual consent of the older people. Only when the latter have given up hope, after at least a year has elapsed, that the marriage could still become "good," is one of the two spouses permitted to marry someone else. Only then is the divorce of the first marriage registered.

In the case of couples who have been living separately for a long period of time, people often do not exactly know whether the Moslem marriage dissolution has already taken place. Little interest is shown in this.

The unwillingness of a young man is thus accepted, even though people are not simply satisfied with this right away. But one does not accept his giving the talak /formal repudiation. -- Ed./. A case of a young man disposing of his wife against the wishes of his older kinsmen was unknown in Borongloë. Informants believed that he would disgrace his kin group by doing so.

593 833 Even though a couple is "good" together after the wedding festivities are over, this relationship may not be lasting in a number of cases. After a shorter or longer period of time, no more sexual relations take place in such a case. This

593 /203 cont./ phenomenon can likewise be caused by either
833 the wife or the husband. People frequently give some unimportant incident as the reason. One man stated that he no
586 longer wanted to have sexual relations with his wife because
593 she had become angry at him when the lombok /red pepper/
833 that he had brought for her splashed into her eye as she was grinding it. Since then, man and wife no longer lived together. The latter would, however, at times get what she
593 needed for her /204/ daily sustenance from his warong
586 /shop/. Now and then they would speak to each other, and sometimes she would ask him whether he would not come and look at their child. They did not quarrel, and no repudiation took place. When their child, who had stayed with the woman, was about to marry, she let her husband know, but he told her that he was leaving the consent and arrangement of the festivities to her. Neither of them remarried. This situation lasted until the death of the man.

In another case where a married couple had been living separated for years, the reason given was the fact that the wife wanted to continue living with her own kin group and did not want to go with the husband to his. "They live separated" (sisala pamantanganna), it is said in such cases.

A few figures may make the relationships here described a little clearer.

586 On July 1, 1948, the number of persons residing in kampong Bontoramba who were divorced according to Moslem
[162] law and had not remarried was three, two men and one woman. The latter had been married to one of these two men. The wife of the other man lived elsewhere.

In addition, the number of people living in separation
586 but not (yet) divorced according to the law, amounted to
593 six, five women and one man. The latter was married to
[162] one of the five women. The husbands of the other four women lived elsewhere. Two of these four women had been married through silariang and were later deserted by their husbands.

586 /204 cont./ Of the total of seven marriages in which the
● 593 partners did not live together, though they were not divorced
162 according to Moslem rites, four were childless.

Four of these seven married couples belonged to the Kapala group (525 persons) and three to the Mangenre group (90 individuals).

The number of divorces among people residing in the adat community of Borongloë (around 14, 000 persons) who were recorded in the registers designed for this purpose from July 1, 1948 to July 1, 1949 amounted to seven. The percentage of divorced adult women was, according to the 1930 Census Report 1.7 per cent for the whole of Goa (1). My

1. Verslag van de Volkstelling, 1930, Part V, p. 69.

figures are too small to be expressed in percentages./205/ However, they show clearly that even in comparison with other districts, the number of divorces in this region is small.

Selection of Marriage Partners on the Basis of Kinship

582 We have already pointed out that marriages between members of the same family /nuclear family/ are forbidden.

Marriages between housemates are regarded as unfavorable (1). The marriage of a widow's son to the daughter of a

1. Unfavorable in this section is a translation of the Makassarese word, bambang, which means "warm."

582 /205 cont./ widower, where the widow and widower had remarried and lived together in one house with the children from their respective first marriages, was not carried out in the city of Macassar until the Kali of Macassar declared that no Moslem legal objections existed against this marriage. In Goa, after some hesitation, such a marriage was not sealed. The chance for an unfavorable outcome was regarded as too great.

[584] Where two young people living in the same house have a chance of being married, as happens once in a while in the populous houses of headmen, one of them is sent elsewhere beforehand and is made to marry from there.

A marriage between relatives who do not belong to the same generation is regarded as unfavorable. Husband and wife are regarded as belonging to the same generation. If, [601 genealogically viewed, they belong to a different generation, ●593] there arises in the beginning of the marriage an uncertainty with respect to social forms and terms of address, which after a while disappears as forms and terms are adapted to the new relationship. Where man and wife stated that they were members of the same generation, whereas later it appeared that a difference of generations existed between them, it was found unpleasant to be reminded of this irregularity in kinship relations. The conflict which had already become buried revived, as it were, by such an observation.

Where a difference in generations between man and wife is observable, in almost all cases the man belongs to the older generation.

The marriage of a man to a cousin of the fourth degree (samposikali) or to a cousin of the tenth degree is regarded by many as an "ordinary" marriage, but a few regard it as [565] unfavorable. In /206/ the karaeng group of relatives, marriages between relatives of the fourth degree occur with greater frequency than in Borongloë. In these circles greater

428 /216 cont./ 588

1. The religious judge (sjarat) acknowledges the share of the inheritance which is due her, but in the case of an "ordinary" division, that is to say, a division which takes place without the religious judge, her existence is officially ignored. At the most this relationship is used as a pretext, without being expressly stated as such, to leave the estate entirely or partially undivided.

593 684 627 [539]

The first person eligible to act when a woman has taken part in a contact situation is her brother. A little poem illustrates this:

Sari'battangadji todjeng,	Only the brother is the true,
iadji kalli' madjarre';	he alone is the strong fence,
pindu' tjikali	where cousins
naempoi ranggasela.	of the sixth and fourth degree waver.

There is no mention here of the girl's father. He is the one who must give the official consent to the marriage and later to the reconciliation, but if his son does not agree, he gets into difficulties. [602] Officially, all male kinsmen of the woman are siri' when she has fled, but those who take an active part in such a case are, in the first place, her brother and sometimes also a cousin of the fourth degree, or a follower (2) of her father. The boundaries cannot be sharply

2. "His siri' is that of his master," it is said.

593
602 /216 cont./ drawn. Other kinsmen display "their siri'" by
627 participating in the pursuit that takes place after the flight.
684 But at a later encounter they do not feel so quickly moved to stab.

554 If the fleeing couple reaches the house of a kampong or
627 higher, head, or that of a religious official, it should be safe
684 there. To stab in the house of a head or a higher person is a
[778] mark of great discourtesy to that person. In the presence of a superior and, a fortiori, in that superior's house, a tumasiri' must control his siri' feelings. In one case where a tumasiri' pursued his sister all the way inside the head's house and killed her there, this served as justification for the judge to
183 increase the punishment (3). In many cases the fact that the
627
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3. See /H. T. Chabot, "Steekpartijen in Goa /Knifings in Goa/," Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, / Vol. 149, p. 328.

tumannjala reached the house of a superior in all probability signified a relief for their tumasiri', /217/ because it frees the latter from the necessity to stab. But no Makassarese would simply admit this. The same applies to an encounter on the open road. At such a moment many tumasiri' ignore their tumannjala as completely as possible under the given circumstances.

588 In determining the reasons for silariang it can easily be
684 seen that they are not simply the high bride price, nor the
114 great expenses of the feast, nor certain differences in status, nor even the fact that parents regulate the marriages of their children without taking into account their wishes (1).

627 /234 cont./ After the flight of a man with a higher woman, it is practically impossible to bring about a reconciliation (1). In all these cases it was therefore believed that

1. An exceptional case was reported on page 125.

there was a reason for the wife's kin group to feel more than usually siri', and as a consequence reconciliation also took longer than usual.

593 627 The tumasiri' who make the decision in these reconciliation matters that is followed by all kinsmen are the closest male kinsmen, more specifically the father and the (oldest) brother of the woman. In case of a conflict between the two, the father declared in a certain case that he was leaving the matter to his son to regulate. In so doing, he externally maintained his position as leader in the family whom the sons must obey, but in reality it was his son who carried through his wishes. The influence of the woman's 562 mother and sisters is small in these siri' matters. They are 593 expected not to concern themselves with these things. Siri' 627 matters touch upon life and death; they are men's problems. An older woman may at some point confidentially make the observation to one of the older men that by now surely enough time has passed since the flight, but there is no reason to assume that any notice is taken of such a remark. In these matters women merely furnish their cooperation in subordinate matters such as the filling of the kampu, the baking of the cookies, and the preparation of the feast.

627 602 It is said that after the reconciliation great care is taken that all the wife's kinsmen, thus all the tumasiri', receive a number of the cookies brought by the couple. For whoever has eaten of these cookies can never say later on that he was not in agreement with the reconciliation, and this implies that he will not make an attempt at stabbing during a later encounter

602 /234 cont./ with the tumannjala. The acceptance of the
627 cookies is therefore the overt sign that one is in accord with
the reconciliation.

The limits of the kin group -- in the first chapter it was described in detail -- are vague. It is therefore impossible to include all those who must receive cookies /235/. At best, therefore, one sees to it that these cookies are offered to the houses of the prominent kinsmen and especially to those of leading men. But the individual who is not content with the reconciliation can easily avoid the cookies. The distribution of the cookies is an outward form which has little significance for the actual relationship. Nor does it seem that it had more significance formerly and that we are therefore dealing here with a so-called "outworn adat."

The same applies to the statement that a tamannjala being pursued is safe from a stab by the tumasiri' pursuing him, if he throws his cap inside the fence of the yard belonging to a kampong head or other functionary. People like to tell of this custom and add that this was formerly the case and that it should really be this way. Recent instances are unknown, however. It always remains a moot question whether, and if so to what extent, the pursuer adhered to this custom even in former times.

Cap and cookies adats are instances of forms which arise where strong feelings demand formalization. For the actual course of events they are of little importance.

684 It is impossible for a woman who has fled and has been
● 593 left alone, for instance because her husband has died, to
588 bring about a reconciliation with her kinsmen. One other means is nonetheless available to her. She can surrender herself to the mercies of her kin group. Thus a crying woman unexpectedly entered the house of her parents from which she had fled about six years earlier. "Kill me if you wish, here I am," were her words. She gave as the reason for her return the fact that she longed desperately for her mother. Her

684 /235 cont./ arrival aroused a great commotion, but the
593 situation that had thus arisen was accepted, and she was
588 henceforth not regarded as tumannjala. However, such cases remain a rarity.

Even married women resort to this method, though very rarely, if a reconciliation in the customary manner seems impossible. This was done by a woman, for instance, whose husband had taken a second wife and who was now receiving insufficient means of support from him. The same was also done by a childless woman. The action is regarded as a deed
627 of desperation. In performing it the woman runs the risk of being killed, for in so doing she delivers herself to her brothers who would stab her to death, or at least /236/ would have to make an attempt at doing so in case of an accidental meeting in public. However, her act of desperation has as a consequence that the latter no longer feel the urge to stab. She who originally made them siri' now shows herself lesser than they.

Declaration of Death

There is also a way for the tumasiri' to escape the need to behave as tumasiri'. This is the "declaration of death." "I no longer have a child, neither in this world nor in the hereafter" (1), are the customary words. It is also said that

1. Tenamo anakku rilino nariahereka.

the child is "declared dead" (2) by the one who has spoken

2. Nimateangi.

these words, that he has cast it out (3), that it is no longer

3. Natallaki ana'na.

684 /236 cont./ recognized by him as his child (4). This
593
588

4. Nisassali rimanggena.

declaration sometimes takes place in the mosque in the presence of the imam and other prominent men of the adat community. This simply adds more force to the words. The declaration can also be made at home without any intentional witnesses.

The utterance of the words may, in the first instance, be coupled with some ritual in the form of offering psang. On that occasion the religious official recites the initial words of the Koran. It is said that thereby the Prophet is regarded as another witness to the utterance of the declaration (5).

5. Nipappisa'biangi rina'bia.

Modern Islamites repudiate this ritual. They speak contemptuously of "the pisang reading" (amattja unti).

The consequence of this declaration of death, which is closer to the Islamic than the ancestral world, is not that a child is thereby regarded as disinherited. The religious judge (sjarat) took no account of it in regulating the personal estate of a man who had declared his daughter dead.

In practice it seems to be principally the father of the
593 fled woman who at present makes use of such a declaration.
588 Her brothers do not do so; they do not regard themselves bound
684 by their father's declaration. They consider themselves free,
627 both in their attempts to kill her, as well as in giving their assent to the reconciliation. /237/ Repeatedly, a tacit recall takes place as the father later also gives his consent to the reconciliation. But it also has happened that a reconciliation came about with all the tumasiri' except the woman's parents.

593 /237 cont./ In yet another case the brothers and cousins of
588 the woman tacitly agreed with the declaration uttered by
684 their father. In this case she had fled to a lower man, and
627 therefore the tumasiri', as they asserted, could not act as is otherwise customary after silariang.

Frequently, a special reason can be given for the deposition of such a declaration of death. The fact that a man regularly walked past the house of his wife's father in an insolent manner before the reconciliation, when he should have kept himself outside the view of his tumasiri' as much as possible was a reason for the latter to feel extra siri'.
593 Another man whose daughter had gone to live with a distant kinsman at the pasar of Borongloë and who was there receiving
684 various men saw in this a reason to repudiate her.

684 The declaration of death seems to be a new institution.
627 It relieves the tumasiri' of their duty to stab. On the other hand, it makes a reconciliation difficult. The fact that
[177] existing ties are considered to be completely broken diminishes both the chance of stabbing as well as of reconciliation.

If siri' feelings, which in affairs concerning women can only be reconciled by death, could in future increasingly be satisfied by a declaration of death, we would have here an opportunity of solving the conflict in a manner less harmful to the many men who at present now realize that the honor of their related group is too dearly paid for by a jail sentence of an average of eight years. /238/

SUMMARY

105 In Makassarese culture four different forms of grouping can be distinguished, each with its own function.

361 Finally, we left, and went to the center of Balombaru.
346 Then we went off on a side road, well away from the main kampong, where the karaëng, imam and the mosque are located. The road is dusty and bumpy. Upon arrival there we went to Rahim's house. He pointed out his mother who seemed to be a rather old woman, but who was nursing a child, I thought. In front of the house, which was not too good, was a Koran school which consisted merely of a covered place with a platform and a few benches. Here were about three small boys sitting around. It is almost a part of the house and seemed to me to show the tendency to crowd things together. No teacher was present so far as I could see, but there was one small boy, perhaps nine years old, who had
576 a Koran open and was looking at it. We went into the small
593 front yard of the house and out came Rahim's father. He was an old fellow, very self-possessed, and I found out later that he is a thatcher. There were nipa bundles and thatch layers all around. I noticed that Rahim paid practically no attention to his mother. He talked apparently without any emotion or formality to his father, and with no show of pleasure. I wonder if this is normal (Rahim is a Mohammedan).
123 Then we went to the house of one of the kampong elders
342 after Rahim had explained to his father what I was doing. This
352 elder's house was in pretty good condition, with a sitting room
177 under the main part, that is, in the fenced underpart which is evidently not usually used for living. All of these houses have stairs leading to the main part of the house. And in most cases there are a few boards over an open gutter in front. As we talked I noted a girl next door pounding rice. We sat down
123 after the old man came in, around a table using chairs just as
291 in a European house. The old man was dressed in a European
177 style shirt. All these older people seemed to wear a type of plaited songkok [a cap or hat, especially of a type worn by Moslems], while the younger folks wore felt ones. This
000 fellow was very dignified. Then two others came in. One was evidently a storekeeper, the other one I am not sure. They were a bit more giggly, but not markedly so. The old man was very impressive. Rahim gave a long recital, again including the Malino story. One of the wives was very amused by it and he went over it again. Nothing was served here. I
203 found out about the administrative structure of the village as
666 above. I also found out about elections. Rahim said that when
624 elections were held, or there was another important matter
596 to be discussed, a drum is beaten to call all the men to a meeting. The karaëng stands there but says nothing. Beside

124 They are small and pretty. They came from time to time to
576 sit on his lap and looked at me. He was serene and his
855 children were wonderful in behavior. Rahim got to the point at once and the Kepala kampong said that this fellow was the man. He indicated a rather angular fellow perhaps twenty-five years old, the kind of Adam's appled type. However, he seemed keen enough. He attended school (lower school only)
463 with Rahim. Then he [i.e., assistant to author--Analyst] got
311 into a trade working with a gold and silver smith. This happens to be one of the main trades of the village. Rahim said there were some farmers in the village, but there was not much wet rice land in the area. However, many people have sawah in other kampongs. Other trades in the village involved commercial enterprises, and being a prau man. A river runs by here and it is mentioned in Friederícy as the one where Goa once levied a river mouth tax on all praus. I
124 later found out that the lad was willing to give up his trade
465 for a while and work for me. He was somewhat ashamed
156 when Rahim asked him about a salary. He said he would leave that matter up to me and Rahim said that this was acting as a typical Makassarese, that is malu [timid, shy, ashamed], although I wonder if he would be so malu when talking about pay with the Chinese who runs the gold and silver business. Later I talked with Rahim about the matter of salary for this man. He told me that things were expensive now, the man had to give up his work, and so forth. He added that he needed more than three to four guilders a day
● [593] for his family. And he added that if he did not receive enough his wife would complain. Evidently he must keep his wife happy. So even among the Makassarese a wife nags. Rahim is very strong on the point of getting and keeping in the good graces of one's wife. This is a revelation to me, as I thought women in Mohammedan lands kept their mouths shut. But here, perhaps, is an indication of the underlying qualities of Malayo-Polynesian women. Rahim finally said that one hundred rupiah per month would be all right. I asked about the regular pay which a smith might receive. He said that it was very good, as much as f.10 or f.15 per day. I then said that maybe f.100 was too low, and that I would go up to f.150. He seemed pleased that I was not going to be a chiseler, and said that I could pay a reasonable salary and then if I wanted to, at the end, I could give a bonus. I asked if I had better not give some sort of advance, and he agreed. Hence I gave f. 30 to be given to the assistant (named Mohammed Saleh) who will call on Rahim Thursday after Hari Merdeka.

567 age. If they are over forty today they do not care so much,
152 and would admit it (proud to be slaves?), but if they are under forty they get very angry. Sensitive. I was told that nearly all slaves are descended from the poor. I asked about one family. They said that they had a very small house and were very poor. Another slave family is still living with a master family. They said that they didn't want to go off.

342 Ground plan modifications during the past fifty years: today
178 there are generally fewer people in each house than was true
161 fifty years ago. A house like Saleh's now has eight inhabitants whereas formerly there may have been fifteen. And the small
592 houses have many more. The population has risen some despite the slave losses. There is not so much moving around. They saw a difference in making a comparison with the United States.

167 Migration: on this subject there is much discussion. In
521 general, two kinds of people left the area during the last fifty years, sailors and contract coolies. They went to many places, especially to Banjermasin to work in connection with rubber or oil. Many people would like to go away, and talk about it, but they have no money so they have to remain. When a traveler returns he tells about his adventures in visits to friends' houses. There is no central hangout.

167 Immigration: there seems to be relatively little moving in. I asked if they would agree with the generalization that the poorer ones are those who tend to leave, but the well-off tend to stay. They saw the point.

Travel: we again talked about the sailors and coolies. They said that many never left Balombaru at all. They mentioned some ideas regarding danger in the outside world, but not much of the magic sort. They saw the point involved in certain Javan ideas, but insisted that it was not the same here. There seems to be plenty of resistance to leaving on
● [593] the part of the elders. They try hard to keep the people from going away.

205 Communication: there is not a single telephone in the kam-
206 pong. The nearest telegraph station is in Makassar and
207 Sungguminasa. Mail goes to Sungguminasa from Makassar, and thence to Djongaya. From there the kepala kampong brings the mail to the kampong of Balombaru. And if he doesn't go there for ten days, there is considerable delay. There is not a single radio in Balombaru.

203 No one reads newspapers. They do read surat kabar dinding literally, wall newspaper, i.e., news bulletins--Analyst] put up on the walls by the Ministry of Information. They said also that there was plenty of class rumor spreading. And